Message Text

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FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY , WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PGOV, IS, UK

SUBJECT: BEGIN VISIT TO LONDON

REF: LONDON 18586

- 1. REFTEL PROVIDES THOUGHTFUL AND USEFUL UPDATED ANALYSIS OF BRITISH ARAB-ISRAEL POLICY ON EVE OF BEGIN VISIT TO LONDON.
- 2. UK AMBASSADOR JAY SAW HABIB LAST WEEK AND OFFERED TO RELAY TO CALLAGHAN ANY U.S. VIEWS WE MIGHT WISH BRITISH TO CONVEY TO BEGIN. HABIB GAVE JAY BRIEF RUNDOWN ON OUR CURRENT EFFORTS TO RECONVENE GENEVA CONFERENCE BUT POINTED OUT THERE COULD WELL BE NEW DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE CONFIDENTIAL

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BEGIN ARRIVED IN UK, AND SUGGESTED JAY'S PEOPLE BE IN TOUCH WITH DEPARTMENT SHORTLY BEFORE BEGIN ARRIVAL. WE HAVE TENTATIVE DATE TO BRIEF COUNSELOR SQUIRE TOWARD END OF WEEK.

3. YOU MAY TELL CALLAGHAN THEY CAN EXPECT BRIEFING LATER IN WEEK. IN MEANTIME PLEASE CONVEY OUR APPRECIATION FOR

HMG OFFER TO BE OF ASSISTANCE. FROM CONTACTS WE HAVE HAD BOTH HERE AND IN LONDON BELIEVE U.S. AND UK THINKING IS VERY CLOSE ON ARAB-ISRAEL SITUATION. WE ARE CONTINUING

TO PRESS OUR EFFORTS TO RECONVENE GENEVA AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE. AT MOMENT WE ARE AWAITING WORD FROM ARABS AS TO WHETHER THEY BELIEVE AGREED BASIS EXISTS ON PROCEDURE. THERE ARE CLEARLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AMONG ARAB PARTIES, AND LAST TEN DAYS OR SO MAIN ACTIVITY HAS BEEN IN INTER-ARAB CONSULTATIONS RATHER THAN U.S.-ARAB EXCHANGES.

4. UNTIL WE RECEIVE SOME FORM OF COORDINATED RESPONSE FROM ARABS, WHICH HOPEFULLY MAY EMERGE FROM TUNIS ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AND SADAT VISIT TO DAMASCUS LATER THIS WEEK, WE ARE HOLDING OFF GOING BACK TO ISRAELIS, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE KEPT THEM GENERALLY INFORMED. IT SEEMS PROBABLE THAT IF WE ARE TO GET TO GENEVA, BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS ARE GOING TO HAVE TO LIVE WITH CERTAIN ELEMENT OF CONSTRUCTIVE AMBIGUITY WITH RESPECT TO PROCEDURE. IF CALLAGHAN AND HIS COLLEAGUES COULD EMPHASIZE THIS POINT IN THEIR TALKS WITH BEGIN IT WOULD BE USEFUL CONTRIBUTION FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. WE UNDERSTAND IMPORTANCE BOTH SIDES AND PARTICULARLY ISRAELIS ARE ATTACHING TO CERTAIN PROCEDURAL ASPECTS. BUT POINT CAN BE MADE THAT COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA WILL DEPEND FAR MORE ON CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL REALITIES THAN ON ANY PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT CAN BE MADE IN ADVANCE. PROCEDURES IN THEMSELVES OBVIOUSLY CANNOT ASSURE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND BY SAME TOKEN THEY WILL NOT BE MAJOR OBSTACLE IF PARTIES ARE DETERMINED TO GIVE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS A REAL TEST. WE HOPE, THEREFORE, THAT ISRAELIS CAN KEEP PROCEDURAL ISSUES IN PERSPECTIVE AND RETAIN SOME FLEXIBILITY.

- 5. SECOND POINT, ONE WE ASSUME BRITISH WILL BE MAKING OF THEIR OWN ACCORD BUT WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY BE CONSISTENT WITH U.S. POSITION, IS THAT OF BEGIN'S WEST BANK POLICY. WE HOPE BRITISH WILL TAKE OPPORTUNITY OF BEGIN VISIT TO STRESS THAT IN THEIR VIEW PROVISIONS OF S.C. RES 242, INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL PROVISIONS, APPLY TO ALL FRONTS INCLUDING WEST BANK AND GAZA.
- 6. IF ANY OTHER THOUGHTS OCCUR TO US WE WILL CONVEY THEM TO SQUIRE END OF WEEK. PLEASE TELL CALLAGHAN WE WOULD OF COURSE APPRECIATE ANY REPORT THEY CAN GIVE US OF THEIR TALKS WITH BEGIN. VANCE

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